

194 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhai /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official

[562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored
182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptional
515 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").

643 [192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes.

[184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
 643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
 [73] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet,
 the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among them-
 selves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed
 Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
 611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
 631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal
 and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The
 Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
 651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one
 reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction,
 either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in
 skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll.
 [64] He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
 appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his en-
 tourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
 today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
 [64] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due
 from the tributes paid by the vassals. This custom was still in
 use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum,"
 [534] "cylinder of a drum."
 [177]
 [192]

643 The aménokai generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking
644 his place or representing him with the fractions.

631 The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who,
like the aménokai, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek,

[192] means "the old," "the re-
spectable," "the ancient,"
/158/ and by extension,

[643
534] "possessor of wisdom." It is
the equivalent of the Arab
word "shéik."

The amrar is the inter-
mediary between the people
of his tribe and the aménokai.
He transmits orders from the
latter and sees that they are
carried out. He collects the

tioussé intended for the aménokai from the Imrad and sets the share
that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of
his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the
aménokai and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concern-
ing the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokai, a grouping which the
Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéné, there may be several tobol, that is,
several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit,
making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate
the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the
Ihaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

[177] The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least
among the Ihaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly
had a drum analogous to that of the aménokai.

565 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the
192 aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock



Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the
aménokai's command, with its
"imitkar."

565 /Fr. race/, "aristocrat," and not "noble" as some have written.

[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la
société et l'état des Touaregs
du Dinnik," Bulletin de l'Institut
Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I,
nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already
said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir,
which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists
in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

565 The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[192] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid
foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them
to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old
nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as lourmet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the
vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
[181] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can
461 accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood,
who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on
their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of
participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
 [65] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they
 [582] are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
 [64] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
 [184] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
 [582] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject
 any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
 /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered
 nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they
 have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr
 tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a con-
 federation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have
 Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want
 to regard them as their equals.

• [192] They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
 Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble,"
 or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the
 Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates
 persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being
 descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called
 and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors;
 such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq
 fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an acci-
 dental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
 565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
 793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and
 prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from
 the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of
 God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[63] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[59] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in
practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[142] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."

[42] In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the
Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people,"
a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading
for them.

[63] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are
their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them
people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia
Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they
are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however: If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances
the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the
invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the
country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a
decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more
"Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment,
as well as less ethnic pride.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
 192 a word of Sonrha' origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates
 the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
 233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
 423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
 241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
 563 Harratin / Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren
 and Irréguénaten / Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the
 Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are
 appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their
 race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
 [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their
 name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
 [582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten
 has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or
 Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are
 Irréguénaten among the Ihaggaren as well as among the river
 Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihaggaren and in the Timbuktu
 region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
 631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They
 have placed themselves under their protection because they were
 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
 [643] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer
 651 their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
 [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from
 them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
 [567] keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
 461 do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the
 Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
 [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 and may be owners of slaves and herds. They sometimes seek
[582] matrimonial alliances with the Imrad, but the latter, who hold
them in rather great contempt, most often refuse.

114 According to Nicolas, the Iborelliten might be captives of a
563 higher origin. (2) For de Foucauld, (3) Aborelli (plural, Ibourelliten)

[192]

2. Loc. cit., pp. 579-586.

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

designates a mulatto of a white man and a Negress, or inversely.
In our opinion, it should be added that one of the parents is of
Taureg origin; and we are all the more convinced that this trait is
[192] indispensable since de Foucauld elsewhere refers to the ordinary
mulatto by the name of Achardan (plural, Ichardanen). (3)

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

We have gathered information in the regions of Tahoua and
Gao, where éborelli refers to a child born of an Amajer and a non-
captive Negress, or of a foreign woman. The Iborelliten are there-
fore mulattos born of mixed parentage, Tuareg and Negro.

563 As groups of Iborelliten we shall cite the Igdaïen of /169/ the
Aïr and the Abogheliète spoken of by Barth, (1) who were born of

1. Op. cit., vol. I, p. 204.

Tuareg mothers (Imochar, according to Barth) and Negro fathers.
Another Iborelliten tribe, of Tuareg and Peul stock, said to have

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become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

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[727]

There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[187]

Among the Kel-~~A~~haggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

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• [192
147]

The Ikalan. -- The Ikalan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Ikalan comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called *Ikalan-n-Égef* or *Iderfan*, depending on which is the case.

[144]

They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181]

Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their ancestors.

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
685 come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192 naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and
murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make
a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
536 which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that
they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or
of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an in-
definite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we
must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might
presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
648 liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own
interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given
deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are un-
settled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working
the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and in-
dividually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring
important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimiden,
in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women
occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the
heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has al-
ways existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of
captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The
Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

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567 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

• [192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

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564 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

[757] In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[752] surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
[465] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

631 The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to
 127 be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen
 [175] by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable
 lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the
 Imanrassatèn, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands
 at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which
 was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim
 was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not
 claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, be-
 631 cause they made difficulties in paying the tioussé.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tārhaouhaout,
 into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tāhifet.

631 The Aīt Loaien. -- The Aīt Loaien get their name from the verb
 173 élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra,
Six mois chez les Touaregs du
Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinān, they
 are said to be of the same origin as the Dāg Rāli and the Kel Āhnet.
 At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed
 half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are
 subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dāg Houa, and
 Aīt Loaien proper.

631 The Aīt Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Tégéhé-n-āgg-
 651 Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dāg Houa group
 pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkerressen of the Ajjer group by numerous
 marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the
 murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous
 in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkerressen have settled in
 the Ajjer.

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[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les
Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghin, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given to Moussa ag Amastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok robol.

• [192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Amastan.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ajjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeien form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tît and Tigeneouin.

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the
175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But
was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the
favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that
the conversions which it caused were especially political and were
made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently
without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas,
only as long as political interest remained in agreement with per-
sonal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en
Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century,
while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that
this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians.

[53] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The
cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry
has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be
found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do
with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the
Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have
[192] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples,
[174] but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg
by themselves alone.

175 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than
797 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian
nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the
Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then pro-
fessed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples.
Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take
root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic
and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

4: Benhazera--24G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

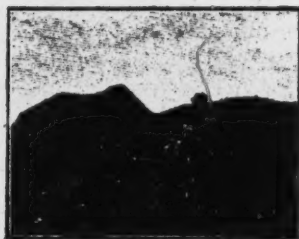
The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the (312) tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492 pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit," /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342 the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592 his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar" : X] , and 092 a single tent "ehan" | : , plural "ehanan" / | :



Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mollet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

Chapter XV

Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264 "tarout" + : 0 + . In the evening the Tuareg is

Chapter XVIII

Clothing. The Veil

The Tuareg are very clothes conscious. They love beautiful clothes and do not fail to put the best they have in their wardrobes on their backs every time the occasion arises.

The more garments they can put on, one over the other, the better it is. Even in midsummer if a Tuareg has a wool burnoose, he does not hesitate to put it over his shoulders if he is to attend a palaver or present himself to a chief, though he suffer from it.

Their clothes are almost all made of dark-blue cotton, "tchoqqit" +...+ (a word which seems to be a variation of the word "chegga" used by the Arabs).

White cotton is not fashionable and is not worn except by those who do not have the means to buy dark-blue cotton, which looks black and from a distance when they are in a group, gives them a slight resemblance to crows.

Their costume consists of:

The "takarbast"    + , a sleeveless gandurah slit at the sides and sewed only at the bottom, so that when they raise onto their shoulders the panels that fall to their wrists, the entire bare chest is seen through the opening.

The "karteba"   + , trousers à la hussarde, or full like the Arab "seroual," tight at the ankle.

The "takammist" +   + , a gandurah with large wide sleeves and a large pocket on the left side of the chest, "el hib"  .

The "takammist," which is usually made of cotton with small blue /36/ and white squares or with dark-blue and mauve stripes, is decorated on the shoulders with white embroidery. This garment is expensive and is only worn by well-to-do Tuareg.

An "abrou"   , a haik of wool bought in the Tidikelt or the Touat, and worn only in winter.

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[556]

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one," he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer. 802

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines. [516 521]

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met. 487 823

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed from the Arabic and changed. 177 192 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek," corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" سَدَقَ "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" زَكَاةٌ, or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This means "the black month." Here is why this month is so called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinn" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the 773 776 805

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread throughout the world, precisely in that month which was later called the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," (corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted, 177
805
منور by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," (corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle." This is also the name of a star. 805
[821]

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim," (corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine (1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de
l'Islamisme /Essay on the History
of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root "zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word [177
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الصوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations," because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "Aïd Ser'ir" takes place.

Duveyrrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n-⁵³⁴
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to ⁵⁶⁵
keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because ⁵³⁴
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among ⁵⁶⁵
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of ⁶⁴³
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights ⁵⁵⁸
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no
longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the
Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among
the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the
right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and
a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and
loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- ⁵³⁴
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call ⁵⁶⁵
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol ⁶³¹
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad
tribes," or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up
the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela."

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but ¹⁹²
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" ^{طبول} in literary Arabic
means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in
order to say "I do not know who that man is," the early Arabs
said, ^{لا أدري أي رجل هو} I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early ¹⁷⁴
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their ⁷⁹⁷
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order
to convert them to Islamism.

233/78 cont. / "maroki." The Sudan camel is the largest, generally has /79/ a light coat, is strong and fast; when it is very fat, its hump becomes high; it must have plenty of nourishment and fares badly on poor pasturage. When it is in good shape, it can carry 200 kilograms of merchandise.

The Ahaggar camel is smaller but always has a nice bearing; its coat may be light, but many of these camels are dark. When it is fat, its hump does not rise much but overflows on the sides; a more frugal eater than the Sudan camel, it can get along on meager pastures. If it runs more slowly, it climbs better; its feet become overheated on the sand but will hold up on jagged pebbles. It cannot carry more than about 150 kilograms.

There are not many maroki in the Ahaggar. It is smaller than the others but much stronger; in comparison with them it seems awkward. It requires abundant food, but in exchange can carry up to 300 kilograms. Generally dark colored, the maroki has a thick coat.

233 The Tuareg vocabulary to designate the camel is rich, a
● 192 proof of the interest in the animal. The generic term is "amis," "imenas" in the plural. "Amadjor" is also generic but is used in the sense of: "camel seen in the distance but not identified." The plural is "imoudjar." The female camel is called "talemt" (plural: "tillemin"); "timetirout" (plural: "timetterouin") means "pregnant camel." The newborn camel is called "aoura"; at one year it is called "ag aouatey"; at two years, "allogues"; three years, "akanafoud"; four years (the teeth begin to grow but do not emerge), "arafer"; five years (two teeth), "ag essin"; six years (four teeth), "ag okkoz"; seven years (six teeth), "Ammessedis"; eight years (two canines), "aoutahallat"; adult and old camels intermingle so that a Targui is incapable of saying how old camels live to be; some die young, some old, but the Targui never gives an opinion as to age, for that could be bad luck.

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with out herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is



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Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouten Well

Names of Camels in Tamashek (according to their age).	Names of Camels in Arabic (in the Tidikelt)
1st year: <i>Aouara.</i>	1 to 6 months: <i>H'ouar.</i>
2nd year: <i>Aledjoudh.</i>	6 mos. to 1 year: <i>Mekhloul.</i>
3rd year: <i>Alegguer.</i>	2 yrs.: <i>Ould toudoun.</i>
4th year: <i>Aqnefoud.</i>	3 yrs.: <i>H'eugg.</i>
5th year: <i>H'air.</i>	4 yrs.: <i>Djedad.</i>
6th year: <i>Eg essine.</i>	5 yrs.: <i>Teni</i>
7th year: <i>Eg okhoz.</i>	6 yrs.: <i>Rebaa.</i>
8th year: <i>Amersedis.</i>	7 yrs.: <i>Sedaa.</i>
9th year: <i>Tahellai.</i>	8 yrs.: <i>Bou fettra.</i>
	9 yrs.: <i>Bou fettertine.</i>

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called "talemt," plural "tillemine"; one that has calved with in a year is "t-n-aouara"; one that is heavy with calf is "timettirout." A stud camel is called "amali," plural "imoulat."

The wool-bearing sheep does not exist in the Ahaggar. There is only the hairy sheep which the Tuareg call "ekrer," plural "ikraren." This sheep is covered with a pelt of long, rough hair, and its legs are longer than those of wool-bearing sheep. This is why it got the name *ovis longipes*, or sheep with long legs. The meat of this sheep is good and does not have the smell characteristic of the wool-bearing sheep of Algeria.

On the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat, only this kind of sheep is found.

As to the goats, they are of two kinds: those with long hair and those with short hair. They have no characteristics which distinguish them noticeably from the goats of Algeria.

Chapter X

Trade. Caravans. Market Prices

The Ahaggar Tuareg have trade relations with: 1. the Saharan Oases (Tidikelt and Touat) for dates, "chegga" (blue cotton), "malti" and "mahmoudi" (white cotton), "chach" (white muslin), haïks, smoking tobacco, "taba," and snuff, "chemma," tea, and sugar. /68/

They bring in male and female camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys, melted butter, and sometimes products that they have brought back from the Aïr.

2. Aïr and Damerrou. Having no industry, they buy all manufactured goods from the Aïr. Thus, by means of barter (aside from bechna) they acquire arms: spears, daggers, sabers,

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326 because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565 of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754] The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326 of the Arab "ma'lem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [92] for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764] "chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241 Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312 with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565 wells; and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

Chapter XII

Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241 found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
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Chapter XIII

Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', 172
Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that 764
cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either
like a truncated cone, or "chouchat," or like a little turret, or
"bazina," like those found everywhere in North Africa.

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave
of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan)
which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape
of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter
wide, and one meter high.

The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni,"
plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the
Arab word "beni," building), are those of the "Izabbaren" 172
173
764
[192]

100 X . Then, too, this word in Tamashek means
"ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" 000 X , "ogre."
The Ahaggar and the Taftoq refuse to admit that these were
perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves
of this kind. "The Izabbaren," they say, "have nothing in
common with us. They are not our ancestors." It was for this
reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves
without opposition on their part.

Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still
has a circular shape but with the "chouahed," or markers, custom- 172
ary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat," or "bazina," 764
graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual.
It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren"
graves and the present graves.

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of
Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be
descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 172
173
764

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europeans and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud (*tarhamt*) so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wheels (*tanout*) from which water is drawn by zebu (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling (*adamous*) and a square hut (*ekerber*) covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1930a, p. 45. - Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word Air to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
 651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble
 Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in
 the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
 [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
 [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are believed to induce vassals to
 give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but
 these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
 [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the
 country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the
 vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
 [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these
 animals.

The master of a temazlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids,
 but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
 [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
 [721] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
 [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also
 known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been
 given to the Amenokal. The temazlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
 [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller
 units within the drum-group - the temazlait-relations - were predominantly
 economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit,
 the drum-group.

The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
 192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and
 vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their
 social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly
 this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the
 word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p.
 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imahar* (sing. *Amahar*).
 It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb
ahar meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. - Foucauld 1951-
 52, II, p. 665-674. - Prasse 1959, p. 300). Among the Northern Tuareg it may
 originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and
 in Tamili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahagger*). It is very possible that
 this latter word is identical with *Houara* - a common name for several Berber tribes

Ahaggar
Air

dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Houars* has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 533). 565
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The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imyad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1933f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *myrid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imyad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan. [114]
[194]

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [233]
[721]

The Ahaggar Tuareg - in contrast to the Tuareg of Air - have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. - Reygasse 1950, p. 88. - Foucauld 1951 - 52, II, p. 533ff. - Lhote 1955, p. 133ff. - Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition 173
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171 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of
342 the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillié 1890, I, p. 190), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg:—The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 99, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; [174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. — Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. — Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. — Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

171 I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain
233 relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove.
342 The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distributions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern
● 192

Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 342 [192] 227f.).

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:— "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs nouveaux maîtres: au VIII^e siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920-28, V, p. 216. — cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171 233 342

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925-26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190 ff. — Walz 1951). 114 174 233

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. — cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:— 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren* (*Ahaggar*) is perhaps derived from *Hooouara*,
 ● [192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripoli-
 [114] tania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hooouara Berbers were originally
 Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn
 Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun
 states that the Hooouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some
 of the pastoral Hooouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a
 later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the
 Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of
 the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from
 Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political
 systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among
 whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by
 171 Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsagan*
 565 because they pay *sadaqa*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the pri-
 vilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day
 have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to
 perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949,
 p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic
 171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with
 192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of
 a chief, and the very important word *essebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and
 in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should
 174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.
 10)

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233 /79 cont. / When the young camel is weaned it is called
192 "assaka"; when it is trained, one says "abal" or "amougui."
The stud camel is called "amali."

Generous with the names bestowed on the camel, the Tuareg are even more wordy when it comes to describing the camel's color. /80/ While green or bright red spread on a paper is poorly appraised, the imperceptible nuances of a camel's coat are distinguished in precise fashion; this is because the colors that we mentioned are abstractions, while the difference between two grays is concrete, being the difference between two observed, known, and perhaps loved camels.

The correspondence between the colors expressed by the Tamashek words and the French shades is arbitrary; another investigator could quite well give another scale just as valid.

White: beïdedj; dark gray: iendjelan; fawn: iebramine; light fawn: atlar; fawn brown: ibazaouane; black: ikaoualane; black and white: azelraf; dirty white: idegnassen; gazelle: ierrane; light gray: ibahouane; green tones: israfane; reddish white: ilemlarane; reddish brown: ihaggarene; between red and yellow: ietlarine; the one with the blue eyes: iouinaran; the one with the white mouth: imoulssan.

According to what an animal is used for or according to his merits, there are about 20 other names, a few examples of which follow:

Saddle camel: "amis ouan tarik"; pack camel: "amis ouan edjidji"; saddle camel for a woman: "amis ouan takhaouit." Tired camel: "yaddah"; wounded camel: "yakoder"; well-trained camel: "iounane"; a hard camel to mount: "irraguel."

233 There is no need to repeat here the characteristics of the camel, its sobriety, its endurance, its fragility, too; let us remember, though, /81/ that when it "drinks its fill," it downs up to 120 liters of water.

In a moist pasture, whose grass is green, of course, the camel stays practically without drinking; when it is mounted or packed, having to undertake a journey across a strictly

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Gaset* of Tassit-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Gaset.



Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

564 From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet*
192 language:—

<i>ténet</i>	<i>tamachek</i>	English
<i>wochimbage</i>	<i>ineden</i>	blacksmiths
<i>wosilkum</i>	<i>echink</i>	porridge
<i>tikulkumin</i> (pl.)	<i>tikammarin</i>	cheese
<i>ohundegan</i>	<i>aman</i>	water
<i>ogera</i>	<i>éref</i>	head
<i>tokonderer</i>	<i>tinezzugin</i>	ears
<i>tedroragen</i>	<i>tilawin</i>	eyes

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *ogera* = "leather bag".

177 The Tuareg have contact with a great many people speaking other tongues, and most Tuareg men
[191] know one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. A great many Northern Tuareg speak
[192] Arabic, and some of them even Hausa, as these two languages are important to them during caravan
trading. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer the Tuareg language has adopted many Arabic words. This
is not the case to the same extent in Ayr, where most loan-words are taken over from Hausa which
language is spoken by most Tuareg men. Even the *Kel Ewey* dialect is extremely mixed with
Hausa. It should be mentioned that Tuareg women have very little knowledge of foreign languages.
177 They generally speak neither Arabic nor Hausa.
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The women have played a great part in the preservation of the Tuareg language and culture. But
the latter has nevertheless been much influenced by contact with culturally different peoples. Foreign
influences are responsible for certain distinctions in the Tuareg cultures of the north and the south.

13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara,
174 and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Harratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ganet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Harratin*. - Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid, Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Éwey* group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293-294).

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Fig. 15. Goats of the long-haired northern breed. The animals are emaciated and feed on acacias which are almost leafless owing to severe drought. Ahaggar 1955, the *Tayet* tribe.

points of which turn slightly inward and forward. He-goats of both breeds generally have strong oblique horns of screw-form. Both in Ahaggar, Tassili-n-Ajjer, and in Ayr there are in most flocks one or two goats which are born hornless.

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436 Although goats are bred intensively by the Tuareg they take little interest in these animals. Before the arrival of the French, goats formed the most important currency and, though money has now come into general use, they are still used in payment as for example, to the blacksmiths for the making of bracelets, weapons, and various implements. In Ahaggar goats are also used for certain payments to the *Anemukul* from his vasaals, such payments being known as *dheré*. This word, which is also common in Ayr, means literally "a big flock of goats" (or sheep), but it may equally well be translated as "fortune" or "money".

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192 Owing to the practical importance of goat-breeding there are a great many terms to designate the animals according to sex, age, and various characteristics. In Ahaggar there are the following age-terms:—

Age	Female	Male
New-born kid	<i>amarwa</i>	
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns	<i>dreydei</i>	<i>dreyel</i>
Weaned kid with horns, and of bigger growth than above	<i>tuxzif</i>	<i>uzzif</i>
Weaned kid	<i>tabunkelut</i>	<i>abunkelu</i>
Animal not yet fully grown	<i>tabulek</i>	<i>abulek</i>
Animal not yet fully grown	<i>adawalt</i>	<i>adawal</i>
Fully grown animal	<i>thae</i> (pl. <i>ull</i>)	<i>ahalay</i>
Fully grown animal	<i>tarat</i>	
(The common term for a fully grown goat in Ayr; it is used occasionally also in Ahaggar).		

Goat Terms

35

These terms are used frequently in discussions of prices. Thus a blacksmith will claim that the price of an axe is *abuleg* (*adwaleg*) while for the manufacture of smaller objects or for certain repairs he will only claim *axizif* or *deyid*.

By the combination of age and colour terms, if necessary with the addition of a covering to certain other characteristics, the Tuareg are able to describe the exact appearance of any animal. Goat-terms have a practical value in enabling the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. A few of the terms indicating colour and other characteristics in Ahaggar are mentioned below:—

Characteristics	Female	Male
Black animal	<i>tasejfeft</i>	<i>asejfeft</i>
Red animal	<i>tezeggek</i>	<i>tezegger</i>
Black animal with a red belly	<i>takahamit</i>	<i>akahami</i>
Animal white on the hind part, and black on the fore-part of the body	<i>téghé</i>	(No term for males which never have this combination of colours)
Black animal with white colour on the lower part of the legs	<i>tazeburt</i>	<i>azbur</i>
Black animal with a white blaze (Foucauld, 1951-52, III p. 1194 f., states that this term is used for horses, donkeys, camels, and oxen, but he does not mention goats and sheep)	<i>tamulast</i>	<i>amulas</i>
Black animal with white colour on the ears	<i>tadmyt</i>	<i>ahrey</i>
Animal of any colour having very small ears	<i>tadmak</i>	<i>adermag</i>
Animal of any colour having no horns	<i>tabiyawit</i>	<i>abiyawi</i>

Fig. 16. A flock of southern, short-haired goats during migration. The women seen in the middle of the picture ride on ox loaded with arches of a barrel-vanted mat tent. From Dazerga south of Ayr.



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- * 233 The actual number of such terms is not known to me, and the Tuareg say they are almost innumerable.
 ● 192 A colour term connected with an age term will, as mentioned above, generally be sufficient to describe the appearance of any animal, but colour terms have practical value also in another sense. They are, as the Tuareg put it, like names of men and dogs, and are used by the women to call individual animals to be milked. The names are then followed by a special sound (cf. p. 39, 135).

It is remarkable how intimately goats are attached to their masters. If the flock, as often happens, is grazing alone at some distance from the camp in the evening after darkness, it will immediately gather round the tents, when a special cry is uttered, or if the dogs bark. On the utterance of another cry by the goatherd the whole flock of goats will follow her quickly. On the whole goat herding is easy, and even very big flocks can be guarded by a single boy, or a girl. Kids still too young to follow the flock during grazing normally browse around the camp all day. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer these kids will not, as a rule, be let out of the sight of the camp, but this is not so in Ayr where vegetation is very dense in the river valleys. Kids in the latter area easily get lost and eaten by the numerous jackals. In order to know where the kids are a woman, while occupied with her domestic task in the tent, utters at short intervals a sharp, shrill cry to which the kids respond by bleating loudly.

- * 233 Goats are chiefly useful for the milk they provide. In general, goat-breeding is organized in such a way that the maximum possible milk is obtained by the nomads, and kids are allowed to suck freely only for a short period after birth. At this period a kid is known as *asarwar*, which term is used for all sucklings without restriction. The duration of the entire period of suckling is dependent on the pasture. If grazing is good, the kids will suck for two to four weeks, while under severe conditions the period of suckling may be up to two months.

- To prevent kids from drinking more than their proper share of milk the Tuareg use various devices.
 * 233 In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer small kids are frequently placed in stone enclosures (*agror*). Such
 4/7 enclosures are also used to prevent kids from following the mother animals when the flock leaves the camp for grazing in the morning, and they serve as a protection against beasts of prey during the night. They are about one metre high, and have a diameter of about one metre (cf. Fig. 17). Similar stone enclosures are said to exist among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg but not elsewhere in Ayr, where the Tuareg generally make larger round enclosures from boughs of thorny acacias, so that an enclosure is big enough for all kids of a household. These enclosures are often known as *zeriba* (), but the proper Tuareg name is *afarag* (in the north *afarag*). They are said to be used also by certain Northern

- * 233 Tuareg who camp in the lowland where acacias are common. To prevent small kids from running away, get lost or eaten by jackals, the Tuareg may attach them to a tree or to one of the tent-posts by one of their hind legs, which attachment is known as *témdit* among the Ayr Tuareg. Kids are also sometimes tied with a cord around their necks to prevent suckling when the mother animals are resting in the camp. If there are very few kids they are frequently attached to individual cords (sing. *témetrek*), but several kids are also frequently tied to one and the same cord, which is then known as *éseddi* or *asédli*. Such a cord has several loops into which the heads of the kids are put, while the other end of the cord or rope is fastened to pegs or trees. These methods are not only practised by the Tuareg. I have frequently seen them in use also among pastoral Arabs of the Sahara and of the Algerian High Plateau.

[17]

Goats . Regulation of Mating . Milking

39

end of the *akaza* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated.

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This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amewwan*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amesahar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. — It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akaza*, *amewwan*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *tabst*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akaza*, or *amewwan*).

Milking takes place twice daily — early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akur*; Fig. 21 b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23-24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks

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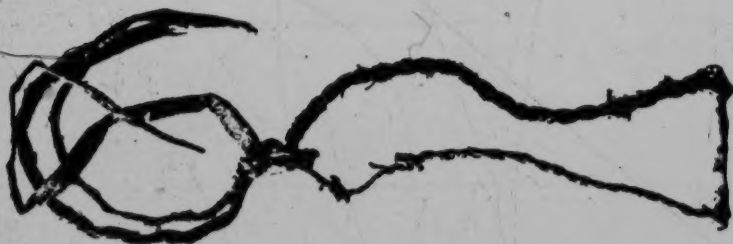


Fig. 18. The little stick (*akura*, *asgher*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Aghut-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: this stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330-0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

Castration . Cattle Terms

53

yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry - even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 (232) [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 • [433] [178]



Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellar*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isokaranen* tribe.

Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamer* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamessa, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregmaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17-0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [224]

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Fig. 70a-b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkad*, pl. *ilekkad*).

- a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).
 b. Whip with two lashes. Tassile-n-Aijer, the *Urazen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*temerrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Agah-en-teshl* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

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donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

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The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we consider their rich camel vocabulary.

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The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amagur*, pl. *imugar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amagur* (pl. *imugar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

Camel Vocabulary

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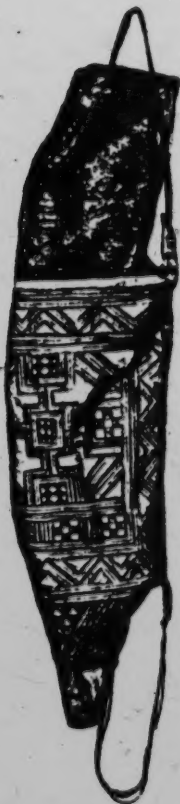
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Fig. 72a-b. Leather bags for camel riders.

- a. Large saddle bag known as *ejebira* (*eljabira*) and used by all riders. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured by the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez (Ayr). Dimension: 0.70 x 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 1.108).
- b. Large luggage bag (*aboun*). Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.20 m long. (N.M. G. 1.136).

In a few words camel vocabulary has the characteristics mentioned under the following items:—

- (1) Sex terms; (2) Age terms which, like most camel terms, also refer to the sex; (3) Colour terms;
- (4) Terms for very special qualities; (5) Terms for camels according to their training and use; (6) Terms for camels in very definite situations; (7) Terms for the number of camels in a herd; (8) Many entirely synonymous terms.

The Northern Tuareg use the term *amis* (pl. *innas*) for all male camels including geldings, and the term *talem* (pl. *tellemin*) for all she-camels. In Ayr a male camel is known as *alem* (pl. *innas*) and a

[text continues on p. 95]

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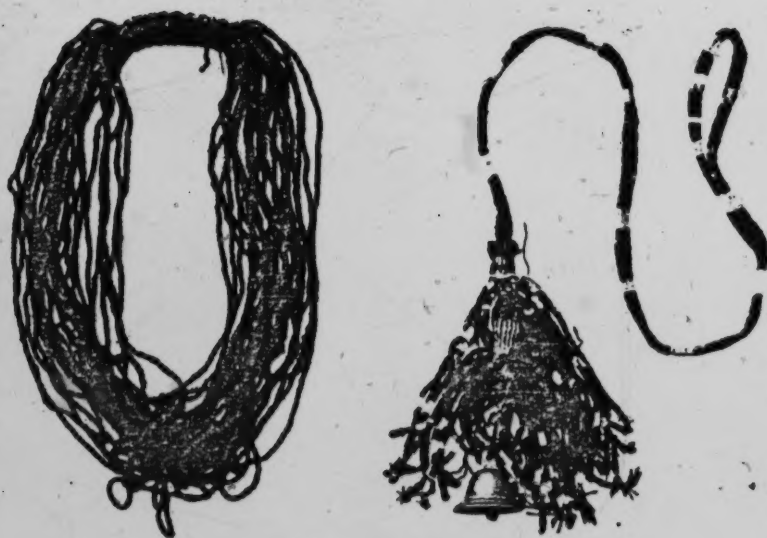
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Fig. 74a-b. Neck collars for riding camels.

- a. Collar made from fine cords of goat's hair. It is called *tohawt*. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the winding seen at the top: 0.07 m long. (N.M. G. 5193).
- b. Neck collar (*tohawt*) plaited from goat's hair, ornamented with coloured thread, and provided with a small brass bell (*anayna*). Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 5191).

she-camel as *talemt* (pl. *tollemin*). In both groups a bull-camel is termed *amall* which word is generally used only for bull-camels reserved for breeding.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasile-n-Ajjer have definite age terms for camels until they are eight years old. These terms may be seen from the list on p. 102 where they are mentioned in their feminine forms. At the age of eight years the dentition of a camel is fully developed and later it becomes more difficult to state its exact age. Camels older than eight years are therefore generally known by one and the same term as long as they are strong enough to be used for riding and transportation, or for breeding. The age terms used among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr are different from those mentioned from the north. They are used with precision for camels up to eight years old, and if the exact age of a camel is known by the owner he may continue to apply such terms for camels up to fifteen years old. Older camels are just referred to as "camels" or "old camels".

Colour terms of camels are many. I find it appropriate to list colour terms of the Northern Tuareg

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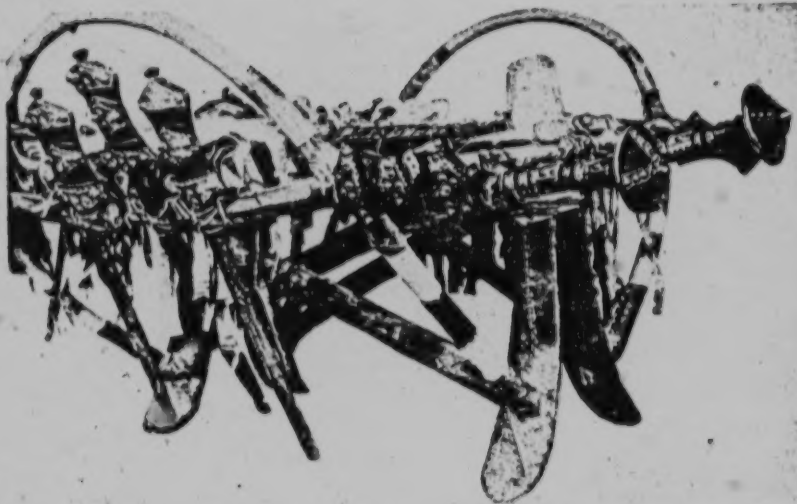


Fig. 75. Women's camel saddle (*akhaw*). Ahaggar, noble tribes. (Musée de l'homme).

237 and the Ayr Tuareg separately, because they frequently use different terms for the same colours and
192 because the Ayr Tuareg have a great many piebald animals which seem to be rare in the north. In the north most animals are of one colour, and the common terms of Ahaggar camels are the following:—*adegnax* (dirty white), *ébrydeğ* (white), *éberim* (whitish yellow), *atlay* (mahogany), *abzaw* (whitish), *émengel* (dark grey), *alemlay* (grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey), *ahaggar* or *ézegeer* (red), *abhaw* (reddish-brown), and *ékawél* (black). There are a few other terms. I have noted the following terms of piebald camels in Ahaggar:—*édemlem* (a dark or red camel being white on the nose or around the mouth), *iigen* (a camel with white legs), and *asertaf* which term seems to be applied to all camels of two colours, and also to other piebald domestic animals.

I have noted the following terms of camels of one colour among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr:—*adegnax* or *wa mellen* (white), *abzaw* (whitish), *atlay* (mahogany), *égadi* (light brown), *awray* (something between light grey and light brown), *éberhay* (something between whitish and light grey), *abereg* (greyish), *ingal* (dark grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey). Most camels of one colour belong to one of these shades, which are frequently so close to each other that a correct description and translation into European colour words is difficult. Most one-coloured camels I have seen in Ayr were *adegnax*, *abzaw*, *atlay*, and *ézerif*, but piebald camels seem to be more common than the unicoloured animals. I have noted the following terms of piebald animals:—*amulas* (white blaze, white colour around the mouth, the remainder of the animal being dark), *agurur* (the back and partly also the neck greyish



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Fig. 76. The two large cushions (*dsig*, pl. *dsigen*) which form the basis of the woman's camel saddle in Ayr. The *Imezwag* tribe. Dimension: 1.90 m. (N.M. G. 6639a-b).

brown, the remainder of the animal white), *dnil* (dark grey with white colours on the belly, the hind thighs, and the four legs), *awinaf* (dark grey back but with white on the sides close to the hump, on the hind thighs and legs, on the forelegs, and on the tail), *azurzun* (white on the hind thighs, the remainder plain), *qimilal* (camel with numerous small circular spots close to each other), *azerraf* (camel of two colours, black and white, or black and red; there is no definite rule for the distribution of these

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Fig. 77. The woman's riding saddle built upon large cushions (*dsigen*). Ayr, the *Imazsurg* tribe.

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two colours on the animal). There are other terms for piebald camels, but I have only mentioned the colours I have seen myself, as it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to note down colour terms without seeing the animals. One characteristic of many piebald Ayr camels has not been mentioned above: They very frequently have red-white eyes, and such animals according to the Tuareg are always deaf. Red-white eyes and deafness seem to go together with certain forms of piebaldness, so that all camels termed *azertaf* and *ajmlal*, and some camels termed *agurur*, *awinak*, and *azurzum* are deaf.

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This, however, does not prevent the Tuareg from using these animals for riding and transportation, and even deaf bull-camels are frequently used in breeding.

The Northern Tuareg have a great many different terms for particular qualities of their camels which are named after their way of roaring and walking. The following examples come from the Ahaggar Tuareg:— *ahenderremma* or *afenennas* (a camel which has the habit of neighing with joy when it sees something very agreeable; e.g., a she-camel seeing its calf when it returns to the camp from grazing); *amerregreg* (camel which roars mournfully when it becomes separated from its master, or from another camel with which it normally grazes; certain camels are particularly attached to each other and never separate during grazing); *arewaha* (a camel which has the habit of uttering the plaintive roaring named *tarawahit* during loading and unloading); *asekkelela* (a rutting camel uttering the sound named *tereletit*). The Ahaggar Tuareg have other terms for camels to denote their behaviour. Thus there is a particular term for a camel which becomes scared when walking in a caravan after sunset so that it throws off its load and gives rise to a lot of panic among the other caravan animals.

As examples of camel terms given according to the animals' way of walking, mention should be made of following examples from Ahaggar:— *ategemtegam* (camel which takes very short steps), *aseffokas* or *alemdeyyas* (camel which takes very long steps). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have many special terms for camel-gaits. To indicate this I quote the detailed description of gaits given by Fou-

Camel Vocabulary

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Fig. 78. She-camel with the colour name *tazurumt*. Ayr, the Imezureg tribe.

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could:— *sekkedi* (to let camels trot very slowly at an artificial gait known as *téredeyt*), *setteles*, or *sellwen* (to let camels walk at a normal ambling pace), *eg senat-senat* (to let camels trot slowly at a gait known as *senat-senat*), *sekkeber*, *keburet*, and *keberkeber* (a kind of trotting named *akabur* which is somewhat faster than *senat-senat*), *regiregi* (to let camels pace or trot at the types of gait known as *stalist*, *senat-senat*, and *akabur*), *eg yukey-eder-tayit* (to let camels adopt a fast trot known as *yukey-eder-tayit*), *wylal* (to let camels adopt a sharp trot), *enteg* (to let a camel gallop), *awdet* (to let camels trot or gallop; this verb does not refer to any particular type of gait but to several, from the slow trot known as *senat-senat* to the very fast gallop known as *tabedeqat*). These gait-terms are used only for camels, but the Tuareg also have terms for gaits of other domestic animals—particularly for those of horses (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 553 ff.). The gait known as *téredeyt* is considered very elegant by the Tuareg, who train camels to walk in this way already when the animals are very young. This is done by means of a large and wide hobble tied around the forelegs above the knees the animals being forced to walk by whipping them lightly on the legs (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1696). As far as my knowledge goes the Ayr Tuareg have terms very similar to those mentioned above, but I have not taken them down in my notes and only remember very few of them, e.g. *tarajawit* (a camel which roars during loading and unloading), *alem-n-akabur* (a camel walking with very quick steps), *alem-n-emehal* (a camel which takes very long steps).

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Considering the very special camel terms just mentioned, it is only natural that the Tuareg also have many terms to cover the use and training of camels. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg can refer to a normal heavy pack-camel by one of the following terms which are synonymous:— *abakhul*, *dekhkhe-dekh*, *agelgali*, *akheikhali*, and *erikhi*. For riding camels the following terms can be mentioned:— *aylam* (any riding camel), *aserensera*, *tanegmot*, *taletmot*, *arretus* (excellent and very fast running riding animals). There is also a term for a fully-trained riding camel (*amanun*), and another for a camel which is not yet fully-trained (*asaman*).

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[Text continues on p. 101]

As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tanantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkah*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*. 233
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For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independent book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms. [181]

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25-30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusun* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *illusin*, sing. *taleggest*). 233
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of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

Ébeydeg, é t! n am! mellen
W-allah! ideg ul t!fel kem

My white camel, O woman with white teeth
I swear by God, it shall not go raiding,
shall not leave you

Ula doɣ ikk am akal ien

It shall not go away from you to another
country

U t! d!ner ar y arabuk ennem

I lead it to the pastures only to visit you
with love again

Ula tahargit d asemmedren
Innin é ham yekk akal ien

Neither in dreams nor in thought
Shall it go away from you to another
country

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

DONKEYS

231 Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals
[192] are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *enrir* (yellow-brown), *ehenbey*, or *takenbawi* (donkey with a black head), *ékawel* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

231 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note
136 in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilt-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

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Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dog ʒali* tribe.

Horses . History of Breeds

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Fig. 89. Horse bit of iron. Made by blacksmith of Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.11 m broad. (N.M. G. 6667).

that the horse was introduced to Egypt with the Hyksos invasion about 1700 B.C. From Egypt it spread to other African peoples, and it was common among the Libyans during the reign of Rameses III (about 1200 B.C.). This first horse-breed introduced among the North African Berbers seems to have been of the pony type (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96 ff.; Adametz 1920, p. 46 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 284) which is still represented in Africa. I believe that the so-called Togo-pony which is found in scattered and isolated parts of the Western Sudan belongs to the old pony-breed, though this theory is not accepted by Doutressoulle on the ground that such ponies are not found nowadays in North Africa and Egypt (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238). Doutressoulle has made a detailed study of the horse-breeds of the area formerly known as French West-Africa. Apart from the pony-type just mentioned above, there are three main types:— (1) the *Aryen* type known in Ayr as the Begzen horse. It is an Arab breed introduced from the North – from Tripolis according to tradition. Horses of this type are found scattered throughout Ayr, Adfān-n-Foras, and Hodh. (2) the *Barbe* type found mainly among the Moors west of Timbuktu. (3) the *Dongolawi* type mainly found to the east of the Niger (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 237 ff.).

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Horses become valuable riding animals to many Tuareg living in the true savannah country. The *Kel Geres* Tuareg use horses for short riding trips though they prefer camels for riding on long journeys. They claim horses of the Begzen breed to be the very best riding animal. In the remote past when the horse was introduced into North Africa and the Sahara, horses may have been important also to Libyans and Tuareg living further north in the desert, where the climate may then have been more favourable to horse-breeding than it is in modern times. Lhote has studied the ancient rock-pictures representing horses, horse-riders, and horse-drawn waggons in the Sahara, and he ascribes to the horse very great importance for the opening up of the desert country and invasions into these regions by fair-skinned Berbers (cf. Lhote 1953a). This theory is perhaps supported by the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg though they do not breed horses have a fairly extensive vocabulary connected with horses and horse-breeding. Briggs states as his opinion that horses were probably never common in the Sahara (Briggs 1960, p. 21). This, of course, we cannot know, but it seems safe to say that in the Sahara the horse has never had the same economic value as the camel later has had.

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Medical Treatment and Beliefs

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*teherggeld*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten poisonous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasile-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoj* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *afuna* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:—Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

Signals to control Domestic Animals

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start around wells. It may happen, for instance, that two men who draw water from the same well get the ropes of their leather buckets entangled. They will then start to quarrel and the result may be a fight with swords. 312
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I conclude this chapter with a brief description of the signals used by the Tuareg for their domestic animals. As these animals do not have the same needs for food and water and are frequently mixed with each other in camps and around wells, it is only natural that the Tuareg have different signals to call, stop, or drive away their various types of domestic animals. I have noted these signals among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr:— 231
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Signals to call domestic animals:—

goats	<i>ay, ay</i>	the three rolling sounds are somewhat different though resembling each other
sheep	a rolling sound	
cows	a rolling sound	
camels	a rolling sound	
donkeys	<i>ahay, ahay</i>	

Signals to stop animals:—

goats	<i>aw</i>
sheep, cows, camels	<i>dr</i>
donkeys	<i>as</i>

Signals to drive away animals:—

goats	<i>dy</i>	pronounced emphatically
sheep, cows, camels	<i>hey</i>	
donkeys	<i>aheyt</i>	



Fig. 99. Tuareg drawing water for camels which drink from a piece of canvas (*sifarawi*) placed over a hollow in the ground. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ah-ner* tribe.

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I have referred to the use of such signals above in connection with goat-breeding, and I have mentioned that goats will respond to signals and also to names more willingly than other domestic animals with the exception of dogs. Some of the signals used in Ayr and Ahaggar differ, and it is interesting that the Tuareg of these regions use different sounds to accelerate the speed of riding camels. The riders in Ahaggar use the same signal as the Arabs - a gutturally pronounced *ha* - while the Ayr Tuareg use a rolling sound *w*. The signal used by the *Kel Tahobanat* of the *Western Iwlemmeden* is *ut*.

brand known as *aqezla*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101a-c).

The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*ézeber*) plaited from *aqez*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same had (*qfus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *tekkéblit*, another is *ayref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Kella* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téghé-n-Efis*, that is "the man *Efis*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Rali*, that is "sons of the man *Rali*"; *Ayi Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikadeyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Agh-en-tekhlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tekhlé*" - the word *tekhlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahwet*, that is "the people of the Ahwet country"; *Kel Tazulet*, that is "people of the Tazulet region", etc.).

Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rels* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakia* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taytek*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Agh-en-tekhlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téghé-n-Ellouen* for their tribe. Actually the *Agh-en-tekhlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Tayhawet*, *Imadun*, and *Kel Arefan*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Imadun* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Iberiensan* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen.

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Rali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takawa* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayi Lowayen* and *Kel Ahwet*. The *Dag Rali* tribe was founded by the man *Rali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as his *Dag Rali* proper and the *Imezalim*. Some Tuareg of the

Tribal Sections and Territories in Ahaggar

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Sub-areas of the territory of the *Aguh-en-tohlé* tribe(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named *Kel Tarhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Arefsa*)

Tenants	Value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the <i>Amenukal</i>	
SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the <i>Aguh-en-tohlé</i> , chief of the sub-tribe <i>Kel Tarhawhawt</i> , leader of the section <i>Kel Twes</i>	Cultivation grounds at Tarhawhawt and I-n-dalag Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys for domestication	2 donkeys	614 613 423 551 311 224 643 651
OMANA, <i>khalifa</i> (leader) of the <i>Ikenkeren</i> section of the sub-tribe <i>Kel Tarhawhawt</i>	Hunting of barbary sheep Collecting of wild seeds	3 goats	
ABERGALI, <i>khalifa</i> of the <i>Kel Tarayin</i> section of the sub-tribe <i>Kel Tarhawhawt</i>	Hunting of barbary sheep	2 goats	
KHOFA of the <i>Kel Tarayin</i> section. No position as leader	Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalag. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys	2 donkeys	
DEYNI, chief of the <i>Kel Arefsa</i> sub-tribe forming only one section	No particular value	No land-rent	
AKAWALI, chief of the <i>Isandan</i> sub-tribe and leader of the <i>Kel Afara-ha hin</i> section	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey	
HANU, <i>khalifa</i> of the <i>Kel Azernen</i> section of the <i>Isandan</i> sub-tribe	Cultivation grounds at Tamanraset In the past wild donkeys	1 donkey	
KHOSENI, <i>khalifa</i> of the <i>Relayddin</i> now attached to the <i>Aguh-en-tohlé</i> tribe	<i>Khoseni</i> is in command of the <i>Relayddin</i> territory to which all members of the <i>Relayddin</i> have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the <i>Amenukal</i>		

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzar*, while a small camp is called *érewen* or *tamezzak*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100-200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzar n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharagen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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22)

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* 4/5

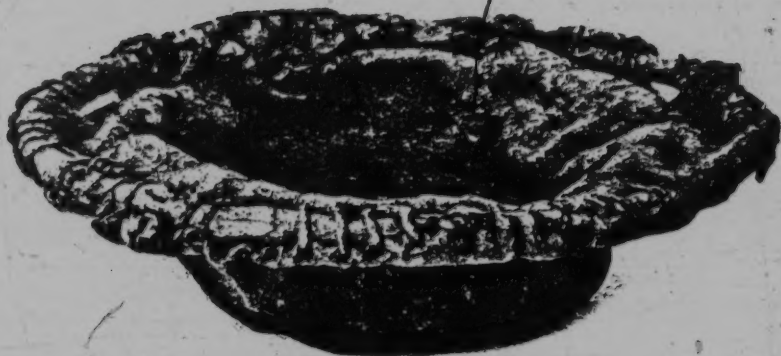


Fig. 213. Tanning receptacle (*ahaga*) of camel-hide lashed to a ring consisting of a bough bent into a circular position. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.55 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5229).

281 north where tents and a great many domestic implements and containers are made from skin. Skin
[4/5] work plays a certain role also for the Ayr Tuareg, but pastoral women in Ayr do not engage in this craft to the same extent as do women among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

281 The Tuareg have several terms for skin and leather. In Ahaggar I have noted the following:—

- 192 (1) *élem*, the common word for the skin of most animals whether tanned or untanned; (2) *akker*, that is the common word for an untanned hide of all animals with the exception of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *érit*, the skin of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope whether tanned or untanned. The terms noted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr are largely different:— (1) *awwejer*, an untanned hide; (2) *égochik*, tanned or untanned skin of all animals with the exception of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *érit*, tanned or untanned skin of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (4) *esarku*, tanned skin of oxen.

281 I have already mentioned that camels are killed in a peculiar way and partitioned before skinning so that the hide is never removed entire. I have stated in the same connection that pastoral Ayr Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, and I have mentioned that though camel's hide plays a certain part in Northern Tuareg crafts they never tan it, while they tan skin of all other domestic animals and game animals such as gazelle and barbary sheep. The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for lashing wood (cf. Fig. 86), and they also employ it for camel whips (cf. p. 84) and for certain other artifacts which are now to be described.

* [4/5] The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for the manufacturing of a large tanning receptacle known as *ahaga* (Fig. 213).